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*Effect of proscriptive or extreme Legislation against Foreign-
ers in Massachusetts and New England, on Free Labor,
Free States, and the Cause of Freedom and
Republicanism in the West.*

LETTER

OF

EDWARD L. PIERCE, ESQ.,

OF CHICAGO,

CONTAINING

IMPORTANT STATISTICS

IN REGARD TO THE

FOREIGN VOTE

AT THE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

BOSTON:
COMMERCIAL PRINTING HOUSE.
1857.

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WAS FREMONT DEFEATED BY FOREIGN OR NATIVE BORN VOTERS?

THE vote for Fillmore in the Free States, was 393,590 ; and it is well understood that many Americans, both at the State and Presidential Elections in Pennsylvania, voted the Democratic ticket—enough, doubtless, to make the American vote for Fillmore and Buchanan over four hundred thousand. If these 400,000 votes, which were all given by *native-born* citizens, had been given for Fremont, he would have received the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and California, and have been elected.

Nobody can doubt, after reading the following letter from Mr. Pierce, that a much larger proportion of *foreign-born* voters withdrew from the Democratic party and voted with the Republicans for Fremont and freedom, after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, than of *native-born*.

By the census of 1850, the foreign population of Massachusetts, was.....	164,124
In the other free States, it was.....	1,702,273
Total in the Free States,.....	1,866,397
Foreign population in the Slave States at the same time,.....	378,205

Now let the most devoted friend of American principles, who is also a friend of Republican principles, ask himself, after reading the following pages, whether the good he hopes to accomplish — even if he could accomplish all he hopes — by extreme legislation against this handful of foreigners in Massachusetts, less than one-sixth of the whole population, will counter-balance the more than probable evils that will result from it, indirectly, to Republicanism in other States ?

Chicago, with a population more than half foreign, is the only city in the United States, having over 100,000 inhabitants, which gave a majority for Fremont over Buchanan and Fillmore. Ought foreign-born Republicans in that city, where, until lately, Douglas has been politically supreme, and would be now but for their votes — ought they to be deprived of the elective franchise, rather than native-born followers of that arch enemy of freedom and free principles ? And would that promote Republicanism, and strengthen the power that is yet too weak to resist the aggressive policy of Slavery, and its purpose to extend the curse of its dominion and power ?

THE LETTER.

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 26th, 1857.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN:

A few weeks since, tidings from Massachusetts filled us with alternate joy and sorrow. The almost unanimous re-election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate was the occasion of exultant congratulation. In every republican household of the West, that great and good man is not only revered but loved. Men stopped each other on the streets in our city, saying, "Good. Massachusetts has done her duty nobly and well." Little did we expect that immediately upon that inspiring event, she would utter such discordant words by the voice of her Chief Magistrate. Your senator in the autumn of 1855, in Faneuil Hall, pronounced a tribute to foreign-born citizens, denouncing a restriction of their civil rights as a reflection on "the distinguished living and the illustrious dead," which is among the finest passages he ever uttered, and will take a high place in the eloquence of the times. Immediately after he had received from the House of Representatives that emphatic and almost unanimous approval, your governor pronounced before that body a libel on thousands of *foreign-born citizens*, who in the eventful struggle of November last rallied, a gallant and patriotic band, *to the standard of Freedom and Fremont*. He summoned the people of the old Commonwealth to pass constitutional amendments, imposing disabilities on this class, the passage of which would bring up one universal yell of *exultation* from all Douglassdom.

For the last two years, Douglas and his fellow-conspirators have attempted to prevent the stampede of foreigners from their thinning ranks, by ringing the changes on know nothing proscriptions, midnight councils, and especially, the riots of Cincinnati and Louisville. They have charged that in these last unhappy outbreaks, the native-born, led on by unscrupulous demagogues, assaulted with bloody violence the persons and homes of innocent and peaceable foreign-

ers. If we may believe even the neutral newspapers of those cities, there was too much show of truth in these charges. The practical dissolution of the know nothing order, the pledge of the Philadelphia platform to resist proscription of this class, inserted at the instance of German delegates from the West, and the nomination of Fremont, who was known peculiarly to sympathize with that clause, and who had numbered among the heroic comrades of his explorations, the German, Preus, have done much to remove their prejudice against the republican movement, which the resurrection of native Americanism and the riots of Cincinnati and Louisville, forever rung in their ears, had instilled into their minds, naturally enough, sensitive and suspicious. *Pass those amendments, and at once every Douglas demagogue and newspaper will repeat week after week and day after day, "Germans who voted for Fremont, look here, see what the Legislature of a State, which is almost unanimously Republican, which gave Fremont his largest majority, and which sent Charles Sumner back to the Senate, has just done! It has declared that you are not fit to vote or hold office, and shall not vote or hold office. This is the act and creed of the Republican party, and what it will do in Illinois and in Congress, when it gets the power. If you want self-respect and protection, your only hope is with us. The Sumners, Wilsons and Burlingames hate and will proscribe you. The Buchanans, Douglasses and Casses will protect you. Who will deny that there would be too much plausibility in such a plea? The other day, when some members of Congress voted for some native American measure, the names of the Republican members who voted for it were published here in the Douglas organ, the Times, with such comments, and Burlingame's name was printed in large capitals, as he had been conspicuous in the late canvass. Already, the passages of your Governor's Address containing his attack on foreigners, have been translated into the German papers of Illinois, Wisconsin and other Western States which are upbraiding the Republican Germans for supporting the Republican party, whose doctrines, they say, are declared by Governor Gardner.*

It will be in vain that we attempt to parry the thrust by saying, as your Governor says in his message, that the amendments relate only to subsequent immigrants, and do not curtail existing privileges. They will recognize it, and rightly, too, as a deliberate attempt to lower the civil status of men on account of birth-place. You may argue long against such inferences, but the instincts of human nature are more unerring than reason. If the Legislature of Illinois should pass a law that future immigrants from New England should be required to pass a longer time in the State before becoming citizens, than immigrants from other sections, (supposing it to have the constitutional power to make such a discrimination,) every son of New England, now resident within her limits, would resent it, and rightly too, as a covert assault upon himself, and would

spurn the party which should endorse it. It is in vain that you will tell them, as your Governor says, that his policy is inculcated by "the teachings of our early statesmen." They will triumphantly reply, the best teachings of the early statesmen are in their solemn legislative acts, and where they left this question, we only ask that it may rest. If those disabling amendments are to pass, we shall have no use in the next Presidential campaign for the voices of Wilson, Banks and Burlingame, for their presence would be a testimony against our cause with a strong and increasing body of our citizens, who are one of our chiefest reliances. Place them in the organic law of Massachusetts, and you will have the satisfaction of *postponing the triumph of freedom, four, eight, or twenty years, and God only knows when in the distant future, it will be achieved.*

Among the marked passages of your Governor's address, are the following:—

"Still, so far as the decision of the Presidential election is final, so far as the action of the present is inevitably developed in immeasurable and incomprehensible consequences and influences on the future, and so far as a step has been taken which it may require a generation to retrace, *our citizens have the bitter assurance of knowing that that decision has been made, that action fixed, that step taken, by the casting votes of alien born, aliens unnaturalized, and aliens entirely ignorant of our institutions and grossly callous to the vast interests involved in this stupendous issue.*

"While this horde of foreign born voters has thus stricken down a noble cause, which appealed to the moral sentiment and enlightened patriotism of our country, it only affords another confirmation of a fact which our whole history establishes, that the foreign vote, *with hardly an exception, always has been, and in the nature of things ever will and must be, attracted to that party which, under high-sounding generalities on the abstract rights of man, always practically co-operates with slavery at the South, and banishes from its platform the moral questions, and nobler instincts, and more enlightened sentiments of the age. All classes of aliens, both high and low, are absorbed, with few exceptions, into this extreme and self-styled progressive party, by laws of the human mind as inevitable as they are constant.*

"With these prepossessions the foreigner lands upon our shores, and irresistibly attaches himself to the party bearing this name he has been taught to worship. So it has been, and so it ever will be. And it is this alien body which has decided in the past, many of our great national elections, and in the future, unless checked, *is destined to thwart many of the noblest movements which New England, co-operating with the New England sentiments—morality and education—diffused through the great West, may undertake in behalf of freedom, humanity, and the nobler spirit of the century. It was the deadening influence of this body which counteracted the great Northern uprising of the last national election.*

"Born and brought up under totally dissimilar principles of government, and accustomed to be led by the clannish influences which surround them rather than by enlightened individual responsibility, aliens are unfitted to appreciate or rightly use the great trust, in the exercise of which they are unwisely permitted to participate."

The statements which your Governor makes in the foregoing paragraphs are the opposite of truth. They are without facts and figures to sustain them, but are a part of the loose phraseology which is current among a class of persons who seek to degrade a portion of their fellow-citizens. Your Governor charges that "*all classes of aliens, both high and low, are absorbed, with few exceptions,*" into the party which elected Buchanan. No statement could be more "alien" to the truth than this, as will presently be shown. That in past times, and up to the passage of the Nebraska bill, foreigners generally joined the Democratic party, is admitted. But was that a crime? If so, it was the crime of John C. Fremont, Hannibal Hamlin, Nathaniel P. Banks, and hundreds of thousands of honest and liberty-loving Democrats, through the country. The writer of this confesses that crime. He was educated in that party to those principles of equality which are the universal right of every man, no matter whether "an Indian or African sun may have burned upon him," or under what sky God was pleased in his infinite wisdom to fix the home of his mother. But it is *flagrantly unjust to foreigners to charge upon them that they did not resist the extension of slavery*, when the intelligence and conscience of the native-born *slept over the advancing wrong*. But it will be remembered that, among the earliest protests against it, was that of the lamented Charles Follen, a German patriot, who maintained in America that inveterate hostility to slavery which made him an exile from his fatherland. The association with that good and brave heart is among the choicest memories of my childhood.

Your Governor charges that the election of Buchanan was effected by "the casting votes of alien-born, aliens unnaturalized, and aliens entirely ignorant of our institutions." If, by this, he means that Fremont would have been elected, provided every foreign-born citizen had voted for him, it may be true. So also, it may be said if every native citizen had voted for him, he would have been elected. On the principles of your Governor's reasoning, the "casting votes" which decided the issue were given by native-born citizens, — and therefore, according to his logic, all native-born citizens should be disfranchised. This charge may be made with much more show of truth, against *natives* than against *foreigners*. It was Pennsylvania which particularly decided the issue of the recent election. And who decided the issue in Pennsylvania? It was the citizens who sustained Millard Fillmore, every one of them native-born, most of them intelligent, and therefore sinning against greater light than "aliens entirely ignorant of our institutions and grossly callous to the vast interests involved in this stupendous issue," On the Fillmore men of Pennsylvania, and particularly on the intelligent merchants of Philadelphia, who contributed their money to sustain the Fillmore divergence, rests the responsibility of that result, far more than on foreigners. *Will your Governor propose to disfranchise the citizens of Pennsylvania, who voted for Fillmore?*

The charge, just noticed, is a fair sample of the imputations which some persons are in the habit of casting on foreigners, which may equally be visited upon natives,—and which are often the frailties incident to human nature,—as if higher virtues were to be exacted of immigrants than of those born and educated on American soil.

The statements of your governor, that Buchanan was elected by “the casting votes of alien born, aliens unnaturalized”—that “this horde of foreign-born voters has thus stricken down a noble cause”—that “the foreign vote, with hardly an exception, always has been, and in the nature of things ever will and must be, attracted to that party” “which always practically co-operates with slavery at the South”—that “all classes of aliens, both high and low, are absorbed, with few exceptions,” into this party—that “the foreigner irresistibly attaches himself” to this party—that “it is the deadening influence of this body which counteracted the great northern uprising of the last national election”—and that “aliens are unfitted to appreciate or rightly use the great trust, in the exercise of which they are unwisely permitted to participate,” will now be considered. On the contrary, I affirm, and the census report, and the election returns will sustain me, that foreign-born citizens did not strike down a noble cause, that they did not, with only a few exceptions, vote for Buchanan, that the kindred statements are untrue or give a false impression, and that the charge that they gave the casting vote in the recent election has no application to them, any more than to natives. On the other hand, I affirm that the repeal of the Nebraska Bill was met with general reprobation by the German and Scandinavian foreigners throughout the West—that they rallied with *greater unanimity* than the *native* population to the support of the Republican cause—and although temporarily cooled in their ardor by the rise of the Know-Nothing order, on its subsidence they again returned to the support of that cause—that *but for their votes*, heretofore cast for the democratic party, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, the State ticket in Illinois, and possibly the electoral ticket in Michigan, would have been lost to the Republican party; and but for their support the electoral tickets in Illinois and Indiana would have been many thousands more in a minority—and, also, that *to them are we chiefly indebted* for whatever support freedom has received in Missouri, and particularly in St. Louis.

The foreign vote for Fremont in each of the north-western States will now be particularly noticed. The statements made are from reliable sources.

Ohio would have cast her electoral vote for Buchanan but for the foreign vote given for Fremont, *which in former presidential elections was cast for the democratic candidate*. Our majority in that State was between sixteen and seventeen thousand. At least one-half of the naturalized votes were cast for the Republican ticket. In the western districts, those of Mott and Nichols, they were the means of

electing the Republican Candidates for Congress. Two-thirds of the Republican vote of Hamilton county, in which Cincinnati is situated, amounting to 9,345, was made up of foreigners. The mass of *native* votes, influenced by prejudice and by Southern trade, divided between Buchanan and Fillmore. In that county, Fremont made a *gain* of nearly five thousand over the gubernatorial vote of the Republican ticket in 1855, and of that increase *three-fourths* were naturalized Germans. In that county the Germans supported for member of Congress, a true Republican, while the natives either voted for the Nebraska man who was elected, or that traitor to freedom, John Scott Harrison, who was defeated. Our German vote in Ohio would have been much increased but for the recent agitation of Know-Nothingism.

In Indiana the Republicans had thirty-three per cent. of the foreign vote,—a smaller proportion than in any other western State. This was owing to the fact that Maine law and native American resolutions have generally been introduced into the State platform. Yet even this ungenerous policy did not deter one-third of the foreign voters, so strong was their devotion to freedom, from voting for Fremont. But for that ungenerous policy, our friends would have nearly, if not quite, carried the State.

In Michigan, the foreign vote is not large. The Republicans received one-half of it, probably about 8000, *heretofore cast for the democrats*. This State, they would have carried, probably without the aid of the foreign vote, but if the Buchanan men could have relied on it in a body, they would have put forth desperate efforts to carry the State, and might have succeeded. As it was, with the large defection of Germans from their ranks, they had no hope and conducted the canvass tamely.

Wisconsin has a larger proportion of foreigners than any State in the Union. By the census of 1850, there were 110,471 foreigners out of an entire population of 304,756, constituting over one-third. It is estimated that now one-half of the population of the State consists of foreigners. And yet we regard Wisconsin *as the most reliable free State*, both in her popular vote and in the independence of her judiciary. In that State we received one-half of the foreign vote, which secured for us a great victory. No party, which eschewed foreigners, or treated them ungenerously, could have the remotest chance of success in that State.

In Iowa, we received two-thirds of the foreign vote, *formerly cast for democratic candidates*, for the Presidency, and without it we *should have lost the State*.

In Illinois, Fremont received one-half of the naturalized vote. He received three-fourths of the German, English, Scotch, and Protestant Irish, and all of the Scandinavians. We owe the success of our State ticket to the votes of naturalized citizens *who formerly voted with the democrats*, and, without their aid, Fremont would have been 20,000 votes worse off than he was. *Our only hope of driving*

result was, that although the United vote of Benton and Polk, the two Democratic candidates for Governor, was in St. Louis county between four and five thousand more than Ewing, the American candidate, received, yet Fillmore, a few months later, polled in that same county one thousand three hundred more votes than Buchanan. This singular disposition of the German vote accounts for the unexpectedly large vote which Fillmore received in that city.

In estimating the foreign vote given for Fremont, the statistics have been confined to the north-western States, but we may add that according to the *Pittsburg Gazette*, *one thousand* foreigners in that city alone voted for Fremont.

In the State of Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, there are a large number of German papers advocating the Republican cause, considerably more numerous than those on the side of the administration, while those which are Republican have as much larger influence and circulation as the Republican papers printed in free States in our own language generally have over those of the administration. In many instances, the German Nebraska paper only sustains a languid existence through federal patronage.

In enumerating the services of foreigners to freedom in the late struggle, we now pass from masses to prominent individuals who rendered effective aid to the cause. Of the prominent Germans, who were of any note in their fatherland, *all were on the side of freedom.* * * *

It is unnecessary to remind the people of Massachusetts that there is now resident in Boston a German, Dr. Douai, recently from Texas, *where he published for two years, at the imminent peril of personal violence, the only free-soil paper ever published in that State*, and remained there till he was driven away by the slaveholders.

The general review which has thus been made, is sustained by a particular examination of the vote of Illinois. It will be recollected that "the casting vote" in this State was given by Fillmore men, every one of whom was native-born.

* * * * *

There are one hundred counties in Illinois. From this calculation, two — Kankakee and Macon — are omitted, the former having been organized since the last census, and the number of foreigners in the latter not being reported in the census. Of the ninety-eight remaining counties, sixty-four gave pluralities for Buchanan, and thirty-four gave pluralities for Fremont. In the thirty-four counties which gave pluralities for Fremont, the aggregate vote was 68,784 for Fremont, 34,462 for Buchanan, and 5,290 for Fillmore. Adding the votes for Buchanan and Fillmore together, the vote against freedom in these counties was 39,752, which was 29,032 less than the vote for freedom. *In these counties, according to the census of 1850, there were 74,757 foreign-born persons.*

In the sixty-four counties which gave pluralities for Buchanan, the aggregate vote was 69,789 for Buchanan, 31,716 for Fillmore, and 25,430 for Fremont. Adding the votes for Buchanan and Fillmore together, the vote against freedom in these counties was 101,505, which was 75,075 more than the vote for freedom. *In these counties, according to the census of 1850, there were 37,115 foreigners, less than one-half of the number found in the Fremont counties, although the aggregate vote of the Fre-*

said to be ten thousand more Germans in St. Louis than American born citizens. While the Native Americans of St. Louis have sustained Luther M. Kennett, the Missouri Republican and Border Ruffianism, the *foreigners* of that city have sustained Francis P. Blair, Jr., and the cause of *Republican Freedom*. So bitter, indeed, were the Germans towards Buchanan, Pierce, and Douglas, that there being no ticket in the State for Fremont, several thousand of them even voted for Fillmore, as the only means of making their *protest against slave extension*. The result was, that although the United vote of Benton and Polk, the two Democratic candidates for Governor, was in St. Louis county between four and five thousand more than Ewing, the American candidate, received, yet Fillmore, a few months later, polled in that same county one thousand three hundred more votes than Buchanan. This singular disposition of the German vote accounts for the unexpectedly large vote which Fillmore received in that city.

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In the State of Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, there are a large number of German papers advocating the Republican cause, considerably more numerous than those on the side of the administration, while those which are Republican have as much larger influence and circulation as the Republican papers printed in free States in our own language generally have over those of the administration. In many instances, the German Nebraska paper only sustains a languid existence through federal patronage.

In enumerating the services of foreigners to freedom in the late struggle, we now pass from masses to prominent individuals who rendered effective aid to the cause. Of the prominent Germans, who were of any note in their fatherland, *all were on the side of freedom*. Of the many writers and speakers who participated actively in the canvass, and gave us their generous succor, we may begin with Philip Dorsheimer, of Buffalo, who addressed meetings in the west. There were four Germans in Cincinnati, whose eloquent voices were heard in the campaign, both in their own and other western States, viz: Stephen Mollitor and Hausereck, both editors of well-conducted German papers, Judge Stallo, a lawyer of eminence and a philosophical writer, and Charles Reemelin, an efficient business man and President of a Railroad, formerly a State senator, *who made the ablest speech exposing the popular sovereignty fraud of the Nebraska Bill ever made in Congress or out of it*. Mr. Reemelin attended the meeting at Pittsburg which initiated the Philadelphia convention, and his speech on that occasion was widely read. In St. Louis, Alexander Kayser, a German, in an able letter, advocated a Fremont electoral ticket in Missouri. To a foreigner belongs the credit of being the *only man* who in that State had the courage to

publish that proposition. Herr Boernstem and Danzer, editors of a German paper in St. Louis, made several Fremont speeches in Illinois. Dr. Grimm, of the St. Clair Zeitung and delegate to the Philadelphia convention, was a frequent Fremont speaker in Illinois. In 1852, Gov. Matteson and Lieut-Governor Koerner, of Belleville, were elected Governor and Lieut-Governor of Illinois. The former is a native born, and the latter a foreign born citizen. When the Nebraska bill was passed, Matteson, the *native* born, adhered to the Nebraska party, while Koerner, the *foreign* born, abandoned it, and joined the Republican cause, to which he has rendered efficient service. In Chicago, among the Republican speakers of foreign birth, were Dr. Egan, an Irishman, Dr. Paoli, a Norwegian, Capt. Schneider, a German editor, Mueller, a German lawyer, whom the Republicans of Cook county have sent to the legislature, Francis Hoffman, a banker, and nominated last year by the Republicans for Lieut-Governor, on the same ticket with Col. Bissell, but withdrawn on account of his ineligibility—and Hermann Kreisman, a young lawyer, recently from Boston, where he was the familiar and cherished friend of distinguished free soilers, as Sumner, Wilson, and Burlingame. They will bear testimony to the earnestness of his convictions and his fidelity in maintaining them. In this city and elsewhere, he has done good service for the cause.

There is another worthy name, which it were wrong here to omit, that of Frederick Hecker, in Germany celebrated as the *Patriot*, who, in 1848, *first of all Germans declared for a Republic*. He won a proud name in Baden and throughout Germany for his devotion to that idea, among the patriots of that land. Driven from that country, the distinguished Republican and patriot sought refuge in our own, and established himself on a farm in Illinois, where he has devoted himself to husbandry and literature, yet ever solicitous for the public weal. The trumpet blast of freedom which last year rung through the land, summoned him from retirement, and in his vernacular he appealed to thousands in the East and in the West in behalf of the sacred cause. The largest meeting ever held within doors in Chicago, was one which he addressed. Our largest hall was overflowing with Germans, and so many hundreds sought and failed to obtain admission, that at the entrance it seemed as though a crowd were all the while dispersing. He summoned the German citizens to rally for Fremont, *by their belief in the dignity of free labor and the glory of free States*,—and by the aspirations of Kossuth and Mazzini, and of all the exiles and martyrs of liberty,—by the memories of their fatherland,—by their hatred of Bourbons, Hapsburgs and Czars,—*and by the crimes against freedom in Kansas*, which would shame Austrian, Russian and Neapolitan tyrants. The effect was electric. You could almost hear the converts drop as shaft after shaft of burning eloquence fell flashing in their midst. Cheer on cheer followed every tribute to the cause, while every mention of the names of Pierce and Douglas was received with scorn

and hissing. The address was succeeded by a large torchlight procession of Germans alone. Mr. Speaker Banks was the same evening addressing a meeting in front of the court house, and the procession passed by his stand. He expressed himself as highly gratified by this demonstration of Fremont foreigners. There is a freshness and originality in the devotion to freedom of these Germans, which is unmistakable, and which persons born and nurtured under the peaceful shade of free institutions are not apt to manifest.

It is unnecessary to remind the people of Massachusetts that there is now resident in Boston a German, Dr. Douai, recently from Texas, *where he published for two years, at the imminent peril of personal violence, the only free soil paper ever published in that State,* and remained there till he was driven away by the slaveholders.

The general review which has thus been made, is sustained by a particular examination of the vote of Illinois. It will be recollected that "the casting vote" in this State was given by Fillmore men, every one of whom was native-born. As a general rule, those counties in which the Fremont vote bore the largest proportion to the aggregate vote, contain the *largest* proportion of foreigners, and those counties in which his vote bore the smallest proportion to the aggregate vote, contain the *smallest* proportion of foreigners. There were some counties, as Adams, in which Quincy lies, and Madison, which includes Alton, where Buchanan had a majority, and the foreigners are numerous; but the Fremont vote was largely made up of the Germans.

There are one hundred counties in Illinois. From this calculation, two — Kankakee and Macon — are omitted, the former having been organized since the last census, and the number of foreigners in the latter not being reported in the census. Of the ninety-eight remaining counties, sixty-four gave pluralities for Buchanan, and thirty-four gave pluralities for Fremont. In the thirty-four counties which gave pluralities for Fremont, the aggregate vote was 68,784 for Fremont, 34,462 for Buchanan, and 5,290 for Fillmore. Adding the votes for Buchanan and Fillmore together, the vote against freedom in these counties was 39,752, which was 29,032 less than the vote for freedom. *In these counties, according to the census of 1850, there were 74,757 foreign-born persons.*

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These contrasts become more striking when we look at the votes from another point of view. There were six counties where Fre-

mont had five times as many votes as Buchanan, viz.: Boone, Carroll, DeKalb, Kendall, Lake and Winnebago. In these counties there were 12,768 votes for Fremont, 2,210 for Buchanan, and only 339 for Fillmore. *In these counties there were 8,845 foreigners.* On the other hand, there were twenty-nine counties in which Buchanan had five times as many votes as Fremont. In these counties there were 27,333 votes for Buchanan, 11,164 for Fillmore, and only 2,068 for Fremont. *In these counties there were 4,455 foreigners.* Thus, while in counties which give five times as many votes to Fremont as to Buchanan, and give an aggregate vote for all parties of 15,317, there was 8,845 foreigners; in the twenty-nine counties which give five times as many votes to Buchanan as to Fremont, and cast an aggregate vote of 40,565 — nearly three times the aggregate vote of the five Fremont counties, — there are in these Buchanan counties only about half as many foreign-born persons.

Let us glance at the statistics from another point of view. There were fifteen counties in Illinois which gave each one more than a thousand plurality for Fremont, and sixteen which gave more than one thousand plurality each for Buchanan. We give here the votes in the first mentioned counties, with the number of foreigners in each: —

THE FREEMONT COUNTIES.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Foreigners.</i>	<i>Fremont.</i>	<i>Buchanan.</i>	<i>Fillmore.</i>
Boone, ...	1,402	1,748	243	27
Bureau, ...	903	2,603	1,234	48
Cook, ...	21,863	9,020	5,680	343
DeKalb, ...	812	2,254	381	75
Dupage, ...	2,664	1,357	542	2
Henry, ...	811	1,924	876	47
Kane, ...	3,629	3,750	912	29
Kendall, ...	1,334	1,623	334	13
Knox, ...	689	2,851	1,490	277
Lake, ...	3,587	2,347	558	10
La Salle, ...	4,835	3,721	2,665	121
Lee, ...	863	1,804	601	32
Ogle, ...	1,137	2,469	734	289
Whiteside, ...	436	1,902	613	210
Winnebago, ...	2,273	3,636	457	61
Total, ...	47,238	43,038	17,320	1,583

We here give the votes of the sixteen counties which gave Buchanan over one thousand majority, with the number of foreigners in each:—

THE BUCHANAN COUNTIES.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Foreigners.</i>	<i>Fremont.</i>	<i>Buchanan.</i>	<i>Fillmore.</i>
Adams, ...	4,294	2,296	3,311	662
Franklin, ...	13	5	1,051	251
Greene, ...	461	245	1,565	719
Hamilton, ...	145	9	1,185	162
Jackson, ...	164	14	1,056	322
Jefferson, ...	32	60	1,278	426
Johnson, ...	7	2	1,144	74
Marion, ...	23	150	1,150	413
Pike, ...	798	1,053	2,163	1,010
Saline, ...	14	4	1,004	229
Sangamon, ...	1,243	1,174	2,475	1,612
Shelby, ...	82	152	1,414	451
Union, ...	67	46	1,263	246
Wayne, ...	86	129	1,218	402
White, ...	209	27	1,062	845
Williamson, ...	52	10	1,419	188
Total, ...	7,660	5,376	23,778	8,012

These tables require no comment,—they speak for themselves. The statistics already given may surprise some persons in Massachusetts, where the foreigners are generally Irish Catholics. The foreigners of the West, while including this class in large numbers, are yet composed in a larger proportion of Germans, Scandinavians, and other nations. The German emigration has distanced the Irish, and the proportion of the former is constantly increasing. A large mass of the Germans hate Catholicism more bitterly than even the Puritans of New England do, while there are some German and French Catholics, and even the most intelligent of the Catholic Irish, who, in the exercise of that independence which is native to the West, vote with the Republican party. Over one-half of the Catholic Germans of Chicago voted for Fremont.

There is one fact about foreign immigration which ought not to be forgotten. It is this which has enabled the Free States to make any stand against the Slave States. According to the census of 1850, there were 1,866,397 in the *Free States*, and only 378,205 in the *Slave States*. Including these, and the descendants of persons who have emigrated since the Constitution was framed, there were between three and four millions in the country of foreigners and the descendants of immigrants since that period. Supposing the descendants to be residing in Free or Slave States in the same proportion as the immigrants now living, this conclusion follows, that the excess of emigration to the Free States over that to the Slave States, has enabled the former to more than balance the unequal three-fifths representation of 3,204,313 slaves reported in the census, to which the latter are entitled under existing laws.

The Republican party was defeated in the presidential election, and after the defeat it is natural to seek for some one to blame. The cause is attributed to foreigners, and a policy is proposed which will drive from our ranks those who have so gallantly aided our cause. Are we strong enough to cast them away? Where shall we supply their places? Is it wise to place new issues before the public, so as to cool the ardor of any class of republicans, and compel them in self-defense to seek refuge with the enemy? Is such a doubtful policy demanded by any public exigency? If the people of Wisconsin, one-third to one-half of whom are foreigners, do not ask it, why need the people of Massachusetts, only one-sixth of whom are foreigners, seek to force it on the country? A future is before our movement, grander than any that ever dawned on the civilization of any age. That future with its august promises, enjoins on us to be generous to all ranks, conditions and nativities, to welcome the enthusiasm of youth, to disarm conservatism of fears, to wait the progress of intelligence and truth,—and thus in the fulness of time we shall organize victory.

EDWARD L. PIERCE.

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*Effect of proscriptive or extreme Legislation against Foreigners in
Massachusetts and New England, on Free Labor, Free States,
and the Cause of Freedom and Republicanism in the West.*

LETTER
OF
EDWARD L. PIERCE, ESQ.,
OF CHICAGO,
CONTAINING
IMPORTANT STATISTICS
IN REGARD TO THE
FOREIGN VOTE
AT THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

TOGETHER WITH
EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE MINORITY OF THE COMMITTEE OF
THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE,

PRESENTING
Their Reasons for proposing a residence of two years after naturalization,
instead of fourteen years in the United States, before Foreigners
can acquire the right to vote and hold office.

BOSTON:
COMMERCIAL PRINTING HOUSE.
1857.





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